1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 457 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we 443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get [577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 178 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary, we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The [494] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the [804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

● [342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly. [438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer [735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Where tuberculosis presents a dark picture, the reduction of malaria is a story of great progress. Prior to World War II, the annual rate of malaria among the civilian population was estimated at one million to two million cases, or from 15 to 30 percent of all of the people. The heaviest incidence came in the years of very heavy rainfall, sometimes reaching three million cases. One indication of the magnitude of the problem before 1946 was the annual expenditure by Greece of $1 million just for quinine, found in almost all village stores. From 1946 to 1950, according to an official report, an average of 5,000 villages were residually treated with DDT and an average of 900,000 acres of potential breeding places such as lakes and swamp land were sprayed each year, the latter operation requiring an average of ten airplanes per season. Now the once-dreaded disease of malaria is no longer a major public-health problem in Greece, a result achieved at the equivalent sum of $7.6 million during the 1946–51 period.

Hygienic improvement depends just as much upon attitude change as it does upon the installation of proper facilities. And favorable attitudes are developing. Whenever the matter was brought up in discussion at the coffeehouses or elsewhere, the local village dignitaries would tell of the project they had formulated and submitted to the *nomos* (prefecture) authorities, in which they applied for funds to better their situation. In Arachova, on the way to Delphi, the project dealt with improving the water supply; the same held true for Vouno in the Arcadian part of the Peloponnesos, Karpenesi in Eurytania, Konstantinia near Kavalla, Myrodation in Thrace, and on to a list of communities too lengthy to include. Other communities give priority to the construction of community latrines, school baths, or a general sanitation program.

The Village House

As a convenient starting point for typing the village houses, one can associate the stone house with the mountain village, the mud-walled house with the plains village, and the white, squarish house with the islands. Each is well adapted to the resources at hand, and each has its own historical development.[11] Many of the island homes with their thick walls took on a fortress character as a defense against pirates who, for many years, plagued this part of the world. Furthermore, the thick walls have been necessary in the mountain areas where the only possible defense lay in the hands of the villagers themselves. As already noted, down on the plain, particularly in Turkish times, the farms were for the most part estates of Turkish beys, and the villagers were little more than serfs dependent upon the bey for protection. He was not concerned about their shelter and they had less incentive to go to the trouble of building the more durable stone houses, even if there had been building stone at hand.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

When walking through a mountain village, one often looks from an upper lane down upon several tiers of houses beneath, since the buildings compactly hug the slope vertically rather than stretch in a narrow row at the same level. This gives a good opportunity to observe the roof types, one of the simplest ways used by Greek folklorists in the classification of village homes. There are, in general, two main types of roof: the sloping, which predominates on the mainland, and in which the slopes from either side of the central roof beam may or may not be of equal length. If they are equal, one has the eagle type or saddle-back type. The second general type is the flat roof, called *doma*, found chiefly on the islands and characteristically Mediterranean. The houses with a sloping roof can be further divided into two types: the one-story house of the plains and the two-story house of the mountains. These types have been well described by George A. Megas and Angelike Chatzemichale, as well as by other students of Greek architecture.

The peasant, of course, will not tell you that his house is of the two-story, sloping-roof type. Instead, he will want to show you where he carries on his daily activities after he has served you some refreshment in the part of the house reserved for such honors. He will introduce you to some of the domestic animals almost as though they were members of the family; he will show you how his wife makes bread and will call to her, "Helene, come out here and show our guest how you put the loaves into the oven." He will want you to see the few tools he uses in repairing a wagon, an implement, or a piece of harness. Now and then, if the scenery warrants it, he will stop and show you the view and ask you if you ever gazed upon a more beautiful sight. He will apologize for the mud in the yard, reminding you, "we are just village folk and this is just a village home." When he tells his daughter to get busy at the homemade loom to show you how she weaves the coarse cloth, he will casually ask, "Do women in America weave as pretty cloth as our women in Greece?"

Should his house be one of the few with a flush toilet or with a homemade privy superior to the others in the village, this may be the first wonder he will proudly display. There is no rhyme or reason to the tour of the small farm, nor should there be. Somewhere en route, perhaps while one is still enjoying the sweets offered upon arrival, the family photographs will be passed around, special attention being centered upon the young man living in Chicago, Los Angeles, or Pittsburgh, who regularly sends remittances back to his family — or at least he did until he married an American wife. One is immediately aware that this is a home, a place where people live rather than merely a house consisting of building materials fashioned into some kind of suitable pattern.

Nevertheless, anyone interested in carrying away some lasting impression of a Greek home needs to pay attention to the house itself. I was fortu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

> The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the *mastora* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.
>
> Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.
>
> Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.
>
> Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[13]

Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendicular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the basement where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Variations of this two-story, sloping-roof house occur in all the mountain areas of Greece, which includes most of Epirus, western Macedonia, much of Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos. There is much snow in this region, and the sloping roof keeps it from accumulating on the housetops. The one-story, sloping-roof house can be found in Attica around Athens as well as on the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. This house usually has a stone foundation of twenty inches or less on which walls of sun-dried, home-made mud brick are built. The roof is covered with tiles:

> In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. . . .
>
> The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as "megaron." It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a "prostoon," or wide portico. . . .
>
> The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its "prostoon" on the long side of the rectangular plan.[18]

In many parts of Greece the one-room house has gone through a development which gives a separate space for the family, the stabling of the cattle, and the storage of the cereals. A final development is the separation of the stables from the house proper, leaving two rooms in addition to the granary often located between them. Where these two rooms have been provided, one is kept as a guest room, one as a storage place. In the winter the family moves into one room heated by the hearth or small stove on which the meals are prepared. The hearth, which can still be seen today in the center of some village homes, was moved in course of time to one of the walls — usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house — or to one of the inner corners of the room where a chimney was built.

These village homes, though simple in structure, call for considerable investment of time, money, and thought on the part of the family building a new house. Just what is involved is shown in the following conversation with a peasant woman, whose remarks hold generally true for all of the Greek mainland. Her husband had invited us to his house but had to leave for a short while to take care of his sheep. The woman, bright-eyed and wearing a scarf over her braided hair, moved her head quickly as she talked.

This home had one room, with wooden floors. Unlike some of their fellow villagers, this couple had wooden beds and did not have to make use of sleeping platforms, ordinarily found at one end of the room. There was a storeroom underneath the main room. To enter, one came directly into the yard from the street, then into the house after passing under the portico.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

[Winter]

children stop going to school and they get together to prepare for their caroling. When they have sung, then they divide what they have gathered as gifts. If it's a nice day, they play outside and go also to the flocks. The man follows his regular schedule from home to the coffeehouse. They also go to church. When the weather becomes clear, even if it's February, slowly the tasks start. One goes plowing, the other prunes, another carries fodder or wood; others plant trees. Those who need to plant vineyards start preparing the branches. The women continue weaving and darning; they still do not undertake outside jobs. They start these when the men need hands. To the shops the man will go only in the evening. There the teacher comes; they all sit together, while he reads the paper. Everybody listens but few understand. The teacher finishes with the paper, then the shopowner, not wishing to waste kerosene on a group ordering no drinks, bangs a piece of wood on a bench and turns down the light. If we haven't gone he puts it out completely. As we go out it's pitch dark. Some fall in the mud; others curse, and some go here and there. As winter comes to an end we have Carnival. Then we kill the pig, then we have our dances near the church, then we enjoy ourselves in the houses.

Spring. When spring comes other tasks start. Then women start to help outside too. They go to the gardens and plant potatoes, spring onions, beans, tomatoes and vegetable marrows, cucumbers, and so on. When some damage has been done during the winter to our hedges or homes then is the time for repairs. And when we want to build then is the time because the weather improves. The children go to school and can play their games; in spring the fireplace does not burn during daytime. We light a fire in the evening when we come back from our work and we can rest and get warmed up. The fireplace burns in the evenings up to Easter. From then onwards, summer starts. Up to Holy Tuesday we must have finished our work; on Holy Wednesday we do not work; on Holy Thursday we may do something; after that we prepare ourselves for Easter.

Then we slaughter our lambs, we hold the big dance near the church; then the girls show their beauty and their charms, and the men their manliness. During those days we also visit the chapels and, after the local mass, we start dancing. We dance and we are merry. After Easter we start our tasks in the fields and in vineyards, as we have mentioned previously. Then the women help too. And they do the same type of work as the men. If we have to leave somebody in the house it's all right. Otherwise, if the children return from school they get hold of a piece of bread and sit to eat it by themselves. You can imagine what happens. When the children are many, it's topsy-turvy; when the mother comes back in the evening she pulls her hair; she doesn't know where to start. She starts beating them and murmurs to herself. The men who like the coffeehouse go there as soon as they re-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance*,[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

1:Sanders 2-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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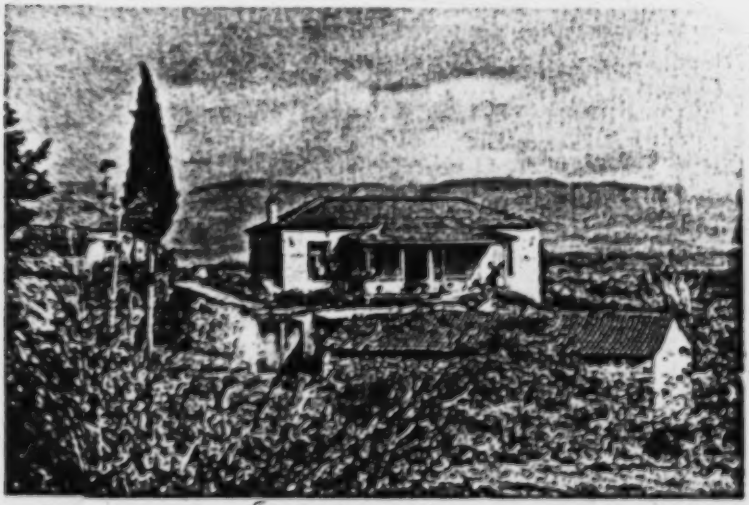
4. The village of Valtetsi, near Tripolis, Peloponnesos, is abandoned for half the year as the shepherds follow pasturage. The walls remain broken, testimony of wartime guerrilla raiders.

[727]

5. A Peloponnesian house, walled from the road, hugs a rock slope near Megalopolis.



[p. 272-c]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *agbora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village is carried on. The bus stops at the *agbora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians come to the *agbora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighboring settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *agbora*, and, indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *agbora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *agbora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

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Vasilika

windowless houses. There are also newer versions of the one-story house now being built in the village. They are one-room structures with red brick walls, flat roofs, and no facing of any kind to finish them off. This is the type of house several of the shepherd families have had built for themselves. They find them a considerable improvement over the reed huts. Two young farmers who have married girls from the village have also built houses like these for themselves in order to avoid having to live in the already cramped quarters of their parents.

The other types of construction in the village are stone-walled ovens which are usually extensions of the lower part of the house (access to them is always from outdoors), brick housing for the turkish-style latrines used in the village, stone parapets for the wells which are scattered throughout the village, and the occasional stone wall which surrounds a house compound. The most desired pattern for a household's compound in Vasilika is a large two-story house with an oven, one or two storage houses, a latrine, and a large yard with some mulberry trees, a grape arbor, and a small garden, all surrounded by a ten- or twelve-foot wall with one or two gates as the only mode of entrance and exit. One man in the village has just such a compound. Several others have similar ones, but with lower surrounding walls. For the rest, there may be fewer buildings and no enclosure, or perhaps the requisite buildings with a wire fencing as a substitute for the walls.

The first principle of arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is that places of public resort face the main street and are fairly close to each other at the western end of the village. The principle governing the arrangement of houses is different. They are individually oriented with respect to the street and to Mt. Parnassos (which is off to the northwest) but not with respect to each other. That is to say, the entrance to each house faces either in the direction of the street or directly away from the mountain. This is not true of outbuildings, however, the entrances of which are found on any of the four sides of the buildings. This combination of orientations and the habit of building enclosing stone walls or wire fencing, with the gates or paths through these on different sides, results in a clustering of structures randomly arranged with respect to each other. The single rocky path leading from one house door may reach the entrance of another house, or it may lead along a roundabout path which skirts the back of a storage house, or it may lead to a well yard or to a stone wall. A walk around several house compounds may be necessary to get from one house to the doorway of another which is right next to it. Some buildings have very narrow alleys between them; others are separated from each other by paths of differing widths and open spaces of varying size. The houses of Vasilika are not, therefore, arranged in neat rows with straight paths between, nor are they laid out in an orderly system of concentric semicircles or similar patterns of rectangles or squares. Since the buildings are of different heights themselves and stand on different levels of the hill and since there are no clear rows of paths, one does not get a panoramic view of the activities of the villagers as they move around close to their houses even when one looks down from the windows or verandas of the houses higher up on the slope. Instead, one may see only the back of another house, or a small part of a path which a neighbor uses. Even the

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Specialization of Labor

233 563 166 463 434 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi* by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They augment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 563 511 434 464 262 342 From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly built one-room brick houses.

233 563 621 555 87 641 435 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their children are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more formal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shepherd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 563 571 621 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people of Vasilika.

463 445 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans, and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident carpenters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

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Inside Vasilika's Homes

Let us first consider the house. A new two-story house has the greatest prestige, but any family that builds a new house, even if it is only the small one-room brick house, gains some standing in the eyes of the villagers, although mild ridicule of the insignificant efforts of people of low prestige is not unknown in the village.

In the two-story houses, old or new, the ground floor typically consists of two rooms, one of which has cement flooring, with stuccoed walls and a fireplace. Many families use this room for all purposes: as kitchen, living room, and as the bedroom for all the members of the family. The women cook in the small fireplace, always conserving precious wood, the annual supply of which is usually purchased in October. They place two thin logs in the form of a V so that only the point at which the logs meet actually burns.

The only characteristic of the room which qualifies it as a kitchen is a wide window ledge, hollowed out to the depth of two inches, and lined with cement. The shallow basin slopes toward the window with a short length of metal tubing pushed through the outer wall of the house. A small water container with a spigot at the bottom is hung on a side wall above the shallow cement-lined basin, and the kitchen appointments are complete. Waste water drains through the tubing out into the yard of the house. The villagers often hang some towels near the basin and wash their hands and faces there each morning. The women of Vasilika used to agitate for the construction of a sink, both because it was a sign of progress and because it would ease some of their work. In 1961 they were eagerly awaiting the piping of water into the houses.

The lower floor all-purpose room is furnished with a few straight wooden chairs with cane seats, and may also have a table and a bed. Proper beds are not essential, however, because thin pallets can be brought out at night and placed on boards resting on wooden saw horses to create a bed, or may be merely laid out on the floor. The women pile the bedding, including folded pallets, sheets, and blankets, neatly in one corner of the room and cover the pile with a white rectangular cloth bedding-cover especially designed for the purpose.

The second lower room has an earthen floor and may be used for storing household supplies, wine-barrels, and agricultural produce. Among the less prosperous families, the lower floor may consist of only one earthen-floored room in which a curtain hanging near one end separates the living section from the storage area.

The upper story, apart from the terrace, may have several rooms with wooden plank floors and stucco walls. A second fireplace, sharing a flue with the lower one, may become the focus of what the villagers call the winter room. It is a smaller version of the all-purpose room below.

The remaining second-floor room is called the *saloni*, and is best designated in English as "the front parlor." It is the ceremonial room of the house, the part in which the family represents itself to the outside world. Visitors are

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ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebrations, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Additional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center table of the *saloni*.

The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately

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fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

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353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos,* as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

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596 mother, and any additional properties acquired by their father in the course of
428 his lifetime.

Division of the Patrimony

The division of the property is always a dramatic event in the lives of the villagers. They believe that the separation of brothers is necessitated more by human than by economic considerations. They explain that brothers should be able to get along with each other and work together under the supervision of the eldest. Harmonious relations between brothers are highly approved in the village, and their maintenance is considered a moral obligation. But, the villagers will add, "What can you do?" When the wives and children of several brothers are part of the same household, inevitably they quarrel. One wife complains that her children's shoes are all worn out while her nieces and nephews are wearing new shoes. The matter of the work contributions to the joint household causes dissension; each wife tries to convince her husband that he works harder than the others. The children of one brother may cry at night and keep another brother and his wife from getting proper sleep. There also may be some envy if the dowry received by one brother is larger than that of the others.

The decision to divide the property may be delayed in spite of considerable disharmony in the household for several reasons. First, division implies a kind of moral defeat. Second, there are economic factors which favor the maintenance of a joint household. It cuts down on the consumption expenditures for each of the families; more women are released for work in the fields because the young children may be cared for at home by the grandmother or by only one of the wives; and the amount invested in farm animals and equipment can be held down because they are cooperatively used. Then, too, as one farmer puts it, before brothers divide the patrimony, it seems as if they have a lot of land and are earning a good living, but once the property is divided, each brother has little and then one sees that the family was not so wealthy after all. Appearances [554] are important to the villagers, and a group of brothers may be reluctant to reveal the details of their economic condition. But the most important impediment to the separation of the brothers is the house itself. For the house is part of the patrimony, and if the brothers separate, the housing must also somehow be divided among them. There are several ways in which the villagers have solved this last problem.

342 When there are only two brothers involved, the house may be physically
596 divided simply by building a wall between two sets of rooms both upstairs and
428 downstairs. The brothers work together to improve both parts of the house so that each is of equal value and then draw lots to determine which brother gets which part (Levy 1936). Such houses are thenceforth called *dhipla* (double houses), and two or more families live in them as in entirely different establishments. Once the households are separated, a brother who has received cash in his wife's dowry is now able to make further improvements in his side of the house without regard for the other. There were four double houses in Vasilika in 1961.

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None were then occupied by brothers; their occupants were second and third generation descendants of the brothers who had originally put in the wall. The houses showed the effects of the long separation. In one of the houses, one side has been inhabited by a branch of the family that is losing its lands; that side has no additions and is in poor repair. The descendants of the other brother have prospered and have added some rooms and a terrace to their side of the house. In another case, both parts of the house have been expanded and modernized but in different ways.

Vasilika's houses are not ordinarily large enough to be divided into more than two parts. If there are more than two brothers, or if the paternal house is small, another solution to the housing problem exists. Here, the brothers agree to refurnish the ancestral house which one of them will continue to inhabit, and to build, in addition, new houses to the number of the remaining farmer brothers. The significance of the agreement is that the cost of the new houses and the repair and modernization of the old will be borne by the patrimony. Moreover, the brothers do not decide in advance which one is to have which house. That decision is made by drawing lots after the new houses are habitable and the old one has been improved. In a sense, the brothers agree jointly to improve the father's estate before they take their shares. The process is not different from that involved when the men in a joint household buy land which is added to the estate and is eventually divided among them. The process of building the new houses takes years (in one case where two new houses were built, the actual work took seven years) and during that time the brothers and their wives watch carefully to make sure that no one house is less well equipped than any other; for no man knows which of the houses it will fall to his lot to own.

The drawing of lots and thereby the division of the property does not have to await the completion of the new houses. As in the towns and cities in Greece, a dwelling is considered habitable at what to an American view is an early stage in its construction. Villagers will live in a house in which the ground-level rooms still have earthen floors, in which there is no ceiling to hide the rafters and to exclude the earth and dust that the wind sends through the roof, in which only the outer stone walls have been completed and the inner walls have not yet been plastered or stuccoed. Even at that, the cost of labor and materials for the basic stone or brick shell of a two-story house in Vasilika can absorb the surplus cash from joint holding of some eighty *stremata* for two or three years.

Once it is agreed that the new houses are ready for occupancy and that the old house has been sufficiently improved, the moment for the separation has come. The farmers are then joined by any town brothers they may have and they sit down together to evaluate the patrimonial property. No women participate in the deliberations. First, the men examine their land resources and make up sets of holdings of equal value. For example, if there are three farming brothers, virtually all the patrimonial land will be divided into three parcels; one parcel may have an extra *stremata* of vineyard as compared to the other two parcels, but that will make up for the fact that the second and third parcels consist of cotton lands which are slightly more fertile than those assigned to the

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795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
[162] about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
722 whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
166 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward. When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
[736] in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[346] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away, which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become
[493] evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto, as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers, above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

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monasteries are there represented, each one inaccessible on its rock. Wayfarers seeking hospitality strive to attract the notice of monastic porters, remote and unheeding in their aerial gate-houses. Venerable bearded figures in flowing black robes dangle in nets above the abyss, or swing with grave and solemn motion upon rope-ladders; while their brethren labour unceasingly at windlasses and capstans high above the earth, and hoist provisions, firewood and travellers to their fastnesses among the rocks.

The Thebaid of Staghi to-day presents a very different picture: no more than four of the original twenty-four foundations are now inhabited. The history of the monasteries from the sixteenth century onwards is one long record of steadily declining numbers. There were interminable struggles for supremacy between the abbots of the Great Meteoron and the superiors of the hermitage of Panaghia Doupiani, who strove to retain their ancient title of 'Father of the ascetics of Staghi'. Discord rent the communities, there were disputes concerning the lands belonging to the monasteries, and before long the number of those inhabited was reduced to fourteen. The English travellers Holland and Hughes, who paid brief visits to the Meteora during the early part of the nineteenth century, found only ten remaining. During the further twenty years that elapsed before the advent of the Hon. Robert Curzon with his escort of brigands three more convents were abandoned.

As late as 1830 many of the caves which mark the perpendicular rock face were apparently inhabited: though whether by hermits or, as seems more probable, by refugees, is not entirely clear. Urquhart describes these cave-dwellings: some "like handsome houses, with regular landing-places, windows and projecting balconies", others, the smaller and meaner ones, "shut in with basket work, with a hole to enter by", and reached by curious ladders hanging like chains, some of which were drawn up when their lord and master was installed in his aerial dwelling; while those which were longer and gave access to the more elevated among the caves were pulled up fifteen or twenty feet from the ground and let down with "a strange clattering noise". All have been swept away and only the dark holes in the face of the cliff remain. By 1911 only thirty-eight monks were left, dispersed among four communities: the Great Meteoron, Aghios Barlaam, Aghios Stephanos and Aghia Trias. A monk from the Belgian monastery of Amay, who visited the Meteora in 1931, found the number of the

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123 793 484 we abandoned the road and struck across the valley towards the river Peneios. The water lapped about our horses' bellies as we forded the swiftly flowing stream, and the potential *psaltes* had a ducking and screeched in muffled protest. Amongst the low hills beyond the river the going was far from easy, and several times we were obliged to dismount and lead our slithering beasts across some particularly difficult stretch of terrain.

About eleven o'clock—soon after we had left the dilapidated cottages and recently rebuilt church of Vanakoulia to our left—we halted outside [342] what had evidently once been a substantial stone house, but which had been burned down and only lately repaired by means of rough-hewn timbers supporting sheets of corrugated iron thrown across the ruins. Here lived Father Constantinos' godparents: well advanced in years and in wisdom, with four sons serving in the army. We broached the cognac and warmed ourselves at the hearth, while the old lady opened [262] one of the wooden chests that lined the tottering walls and brought out walnuts and the golden apples in which this part of Thessaly abounds.

Setting out again a little before noon we descended from the ridge crowned by the ruins of Vanakoulia, and turned eastwards up the boulder-strewn bed of the Aspropotamos. Throughout the rest of the day we journeyed in a desolate landscape of bleached plane trees and white stones, ground and polished by the melting snows; picking our way amongst the boulders of water courses or leading our beasts delicately along narrow paths—mere scratches in the face of the rock—winding high above the torrents and the frozen pools, the long snowy ridges of Pindos far above us.

123 793 It was nearly dark when we reached Palaiochori. Mitsos stabled the tired beasts, and the exhausted *psaltes*—long past speech or feeling—was tipped out of his sack into a pile of straw where he lay motionless. [875] Papa Costas led the way upstairs to the living quarters of his parsonage where we were welcomed by his *papadia* and the schoolmistress, a young girl lately come from Ioannina. We supped sitting tailor-wise before the fire, and soon afterwards the women brought in piles of rugs, Papa Costas divested himself of his outer *rasón*, and, commending ourselves to the protection of the all-merciful God and of His saints, we all lay down on the floor and were asleep in a twinkling.

In the morning, after breaking our fast with a glass of cognac and a [262] few walnuts, we went to see the church of St. Bessarion. Papa Costas, [346] Mitsos and the churchwardens accompanied us. The interior of the

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torrent bed, and we followed while Papa Costas and Spyridon Oikonomides, the *epitropos*, stood beneath the great tree in the village square and waved farewell:

"Kalo taxeidi; o Theos mazi sas!"

A good journey; may God go with you.

At dusk we rode into Chrysomelia—a large village lying at 900 metres—after a journey which will long linger in my memory. For the best part of an hour Antony the Zealot (our guide) had questioned me relentlessly as to the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister within the jurisdiction of the *metropolites* of Canterbury, whilst the mules floundered in deep snow as we climbed laboriously towards the village, the buildings of an abandoned monastery far below among the pines. We had been delayed at the cottage of Papa Nicolas, the *gevsi*, till it was close on three o'clock. There had been a misunderstanding as to the rendezvous, arising, apparently, from the fact that the curate of the neighbouring hamlet of Aidona was also a Papa Costas.

It was the eve of the feast of St. Antony, and the Zealot was preparing to celebrate his name-day. In a tiny chapel on the outskirts of the shattered village vespers was drawing to a close. The village church, dating from 1580 and dedicated to St. George, was a total ruin. We stayed for the liturgy next morning and all the men and boys of the village accompanied us to church. After a distribution of the blessed bread Papa Athanasius Tsergoulas, the pastor of this mountain flock, took us to see his dwelling—a tiny cell of mud bricks set amidst the ruins of the house which he had built some thirty years earlier—and there we sat around a table in the pale sunlight outside the newly-opened tavern and sipped ouzo with the village elders, while crowds of wild, ragged children played amongst the ruins of the church—there were nearly 300 of them and it was eight years since the school had ceased to perform its liturgy.

Chrysomelia had been one of the most important villages of this region, with a population of 1,050. It had suffered at the hands of the Germans at the same time as Palaiochori. The people had begun to return in October. Scarcely a house in the whole village had escaped destruction.

The devastation was no less widespread at the hamlet of Kato Perlangion, where we slept the following night, wrapped in rugs on the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

727 floor of the village president's cottage with a great fire burning at our
346 feet. The parish priest had been awaiting us in the square, and after I
had photographed the ruins of the church he rang the great bell which
[123] hung from the branches of a plane tree and the whole community
[796] gathered to sing the first vespers of the feast of St. Athanasius the Great,
in a chapel which had been disused for generations and had only been repaired since the return of the refugees the previous autumn. No more than forty families had as yet found their way back to the village and the destruction was very great. The next morning it was raining heavily and the mud lay so deep in the tiny chapel that planks had to be laid down to facilitate the movements of the celebrant.

727 Papa Georgios Papageorgiou was himself a native of Chrysomelia.
799 He had been ordained in the early days of the war after living for a
time in the monastery of St. Stephen on the windy heights above
[346] Kalambaka. His first parish had been wiped out of existence by the Germans, and now the Lord Cherubim, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, had sent him to this ruined hamlet, deep in the folds of Pindos.
[342] He lived with his 'priestess' and their four children in a wretched hovel roofed with corrugated iron a little way below the church and, in the absence of a schoolmaster, was himself acting as a temporary
727 *didaskalos*.
346 We spent a night at the village of Vanakoulia on our way back to
[872] Kalambaka. When we arrived the whole population seemed to be engaged in the task of setting up a school in the narthex of the church:
[211] a severe structure only lately completed. Over the doorway was set a
[457] rough inscription in rustic Greek commemorating the destruction of the church by the Germans and its subsequent rebuilding by the inhabitants—aided, as we later discovered, by generous gifts from relatives in America.

DESTROYED BY GERMANS

1943

REBUILT

AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INHABITANTS

JUNE 1949

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

/For information on the various forms of the Greek "popular" house, see category 116, pp. g-h, 1-53, 120-132 and end plates 1-9./

9:Megas I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

II. THE HOUSE OF THE SLAV PEOPLES OF THE BALKANS

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There have been many studies about the shapes of the popular houses of the Bulgars, Serbs and Albaniers, but no comparative survey has been as yet carried out, to determine their relation to the Greek house.

Jovan Cvijic in «La Péninsule Balcanique», Paris, 1918 p. 244 has tried to discern the various housing types in the Balcans and to determine their expansion. Among those he includes Greco-mediterranean house type, «probably originating from the old Byzantine houses, which can be found in all the Koutsovlach villages, even in the ones of continental climate, and which also prevail in the Slav populations of Mijaci and Mavrovci, at the centre of the peninsula». In his couclusions he is followed by Otto Maull (1).

Franz Oelman (2), however, questions the correctness of Cvijic's conclusions on the grounds that the latter «relies on purely external characteristics, having no value for the comprehension of the historical evolution of the house». A detailed survey is needed of course which should be based, as it was said at the beginning, on rich comparative material, connected with to the details of the plan and the methods of construction, so that we may arrive to concrete and correct conclusions (3).

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Such material, as regards the Bulgarian house, is given by the book of Teodor Zlatev, Architect - Engineer, Bălgarskata Kăsta v svoja arhitektonicen i kulturnoistoriceski rasvoj. I: Selska Kăsta Sofia 1930 (pp. VIII+178 figg 153). (The Bulgarian House in its architectural and historical development. I: The Rural House).

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Zlatev, in his study of the rural Bulgarian house from an architectural and historical point of view, relates it directly to the houses of the Slavs, who were established in lower Moessia from the 6th cent. A. D, among the romanised or hellenized Thracians, and indirectly to the

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1) Griech. Mittelmeergebiet, Breslau, 1922, pp. 62 and foll.
2) Haus und Hof im Altertum, 1927, 1 p. 19.
3) L. Schultze Jena, Makedonien, Jena 1927 p. 89.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

ancient megaron type house of the Indo-europeans. For our object, however, the interesting point is the detailed and concrete description of the farmers' houses of modern Bulgaria, which the writer illustrates with many photographs, plans and sections, so that we may get a clear picture of the architectural shapes and evolution of the Bulgarian house. However, in order, to be clear and to render possible the exact comparison of the Bulgarian house to the Greek one, and considering the fact that the Bulgarian language is not widely known, I shall dwell rather fully on all that concerns this type of house (1). For greater help I am attaching plates, showing the evolution of the Bulgarian house, as it can be drawn from the plans of Bulgarian houses presented by Zlatev.

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A. THE BULGARIAN HOUSE

As it can be deduced from Zlatev's study, the Bulgarian agricultural house does not present the variety of shapes of the Greek house. If we except the troglodyten house which is frequent in some parts of Northern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian country houses belong to the straight-lined rectangular buildings with an eagle-type or saddle-type roof; according to the nature of the ground, they are separated into mountainous and plain types The lowland types are as a rule just like the Greek ones, one-storey and they are built out of stones or bricks, and roofed with tiles or thatch (2). The mountainous types are two-storey, the ground floor being out of stone and the upper either entirely out of wood or with wooden frames which are filled with unbaked bricks or woven branches, and sprayed on both sides with mud mixed with straw. The roof, in the mountainous areas, is covered with tiles or plates, but in some places thatch is also used.

B [184]

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1) I must here express my warm thanks to Mr. K. Th. Stamatiades who, with his knowledge of the Bulgarian language, has rendered possible my study of Zlatev's book.

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2) According to **C. Jirecek,** Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, Wien 1891 p. 157 and foll. « over the largest part of the country one can see but poor houses in the villages, of brown earth colour without whitewash; their roofs were mostly covered with mere thatch during the time of Turkish occupation. It is only since the latest years after the liberation, that an increase of tile-roofs is seen from year to year.

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard.

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Macrolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34).

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kĭsta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect., as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace(1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house(2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104).

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language,

1) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. G. Megas, ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months.

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV).

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba».

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μεσοῦστι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. J. Cvijic', op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, G. Megas, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48.

1) According to Cvijic, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

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342 of Zeravna (Plate XV 4, 5) one end of the portico is arranged as a
171 balcony (kioschki) slightly projecting and giving a view on the road, with its floor higher by 50-70 cm. from that of the rest of the portico, exactly as in the case of the sofas in the rich Greek houses of Northern Greece (1).

According to the above survey and after the mere examination of plates XIII-XV of the appendix, it is proved, I think, that, if we except the zadrouga-systems 6-8 pl. XIII, the general disposition of space both in one-storied and two-storied Bulgarian houses does not differ from that of the Greek house and especially the North Greek one; it also displays the same consistency and the same evolution from simpler to more complex forms. Exactly as in the external shape and the entire arrangement, the internal arrangement of the space in the Bulgarian house does not differ from the Greek and especially
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[354 the Northern Greek house. The hearth, in the Bulgarian house, is
352] built in the middle of one of the walls or in one corner of the main room with a chimney that semi-circularly protrudes over it. We also find there our well known shelves high on the walls of the room, wall cupboards (doulapze), little opening (juklouk) and large wooden cupboards (moussandri) on both sides of the hearth; the sofas (menderia) also here extend along the walls and are covered with manifold patterns, rugs and cushions.

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[352 Facing the hearth there is the pitcher-stand and next to it, in the
252] wall, the cutlery cup-board. Bread is baked in a clay tray down in the hearth, just as in the houses of Agrafa in Thessaly. A low round table is used for eating, exactly as in the Greek rural houses in older times (2).

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192 C. Jirecek, when describing the interior of the Bulgarian rural
342 house towards the end of the 19th century, also mentions some articles whose names originate from the Greek language: chromel (χειρόμυλος) = a hand-mill for wheat or salt; stomna or stovna (στάμνα) = water pitcher with narrow neck; charkomka (χάλκωμα) = brass-utensil; paploma (πάπλωμα) = bed-cover; sakul (σακκοῦλι) = bag; ikona (εἰκόνα) = an ikon placed in the corner of the room (3).

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[192 1) See **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, pp. 86, 93, 97, 99.

2) According to Jirecek's note where he describes the Bulgarian urban house «Bulgars use only foreign words for the table. These are the Greek «trapeza», the Rumanian «massa» and the Turkish «sofra».

3) **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. p. 158, K. Myrtilos Apostolides in Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾳκικοῦ Θησαυροῦ vol. 8 p. 103 mentions many names of everyday objects which are orig-

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EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains] SL

The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44).

B 342 354 C [342] [171]

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuc'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45 c and 46).

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἀγκιστρον) =hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc.

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1) The word **isba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuha» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105, **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108).

B [192] SL [177]

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

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ground and having a beaten earth floor and an open fire-place» (1); as L. Niederle remarks (ibid. p. 108, note 1): «in the Balkans the Latin influence is shown in the addition of the soba to the kuc'a; this change, however, is not older than the 19th century» (2).

Consequently, even this difference, which is noted at many places, in the system of heating between the Bulgarian agricultural house and the Greek one, is neither original nor basic.

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The houses of the Rodope area are peculiar in their external architectural shape, as they do not have the open portico of the upper storey, which is so typical for the mountainous Bulgarian houses (3). Obviously it is the lack of security in these districts, where there was a lot of banditry (called Momtsilo, Kirtzalis) (4) since the later Byzantine years, that imposed here, as well as in Western Macedonia equally suffering from the incursions of Albanians, the system of fortified buildings, with their heavy and strong walls, reaching as far up as the roof even on the frontage of the house; an internal staircase; a strong main-door, with loop-holes on each side as well as the arrangement of the veranda (heliakos) into a large ante-room, or drawing room, with fine balconies or kioschks, protruding on its ends (fig. 47) (Zlatev, fig. 61 and 67), exactly as it is seen in the covered balconies and the high sofas of the rich houses in Western Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly (5). It is understood that in the simplest shapes of houses

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1) **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 158

2) The Russian ethnologist **Tokariof**, when describing the Bulgarian house, says: «Almost all the old houses have an open hearth on the wall with a pot hanging over the fire, and with a wide open chimney that has its exit through the roof The bread is usually baked in this hearth. As for the horizontal plan, the house is divided into two parts: the kitchen with the fire-place and the «oda», the room, that now has an iron stove». (Μόρφωση, Γ' 1946 p. 126). According to **R. Meringer** (Sitzungsber. Philos. Histor. Kl. der Wiener Akad. Abh. 2 p. 13) Bulgaria, Albania and the Hercegovina are placed in the category of the countries with fire-place (Kaminländer).

3) According to **Tokariof** «one sees as completely different thing in the Rodope mountains. We have an example in the village of Baskovo. There, the old houses have an extremely complicated plan which is very difficult to be analysed. Houses are very big; they have three or four floors and sometimes the wall of the front of the house has no windows at all. The upper floors sometimes extend over the lower by covered balconies, as it is the custom in the East. Houses are built one against the other, thus forming whole blocks. This architectural style is entirely different from the Eastern-Slav type of house where the plan is always a simple rectangular parallelopiped».

4) See **W. Slatarski**, Geschichte der Bulgaren, I Leipzig 1918 p. 165

5) **G. Megas**, Θρακικ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 55, 88, 97, 104, 109, fig. 50, 80, 90.

[Text continues on p. 75]

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9:Megas 1.B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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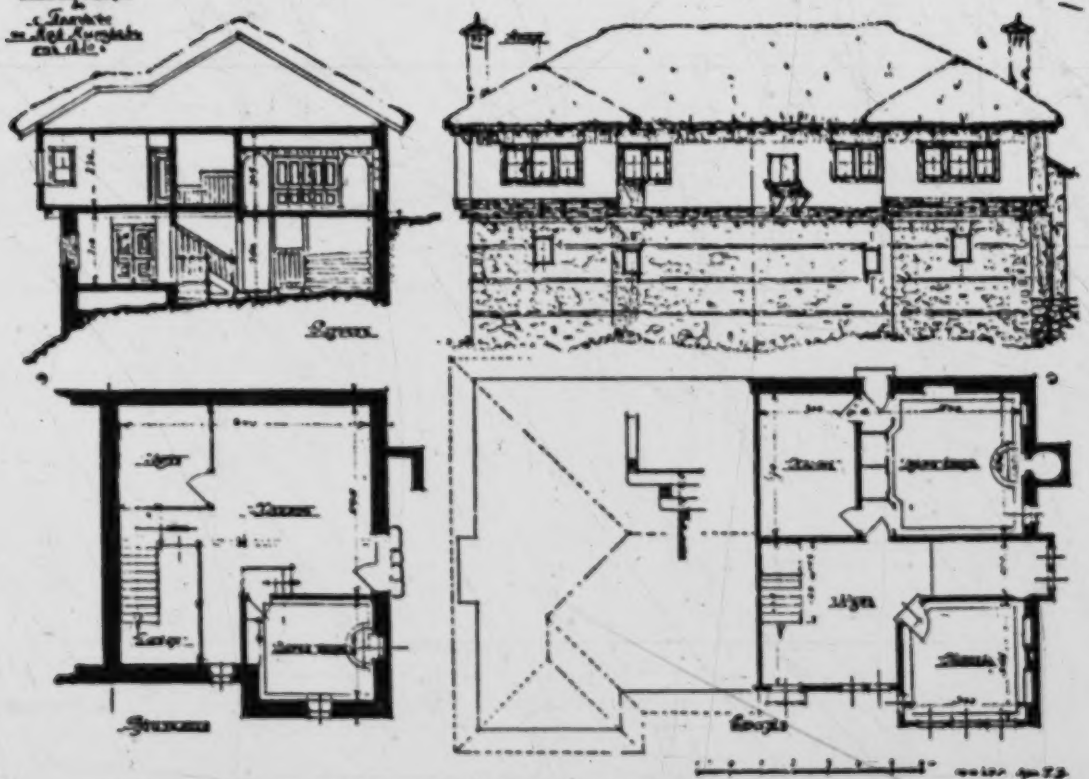

ground floor

Fig. 47 Double dwelling in Petkovo of central Rodope, in 1820

(Zlatev, Bălg. Kăšta, fig. 61)

upper floor

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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we see here also the open portico in the ground-floor and the external staircase to the upper floor (fig. 48 Plate XVI 1 and 1a, 2); so the similarity of the building shapes of Rodope to that of the rest of Greece is very evident (See Plate XVI, 5. 6; comp. Plate VIIa, 4a, 4b).

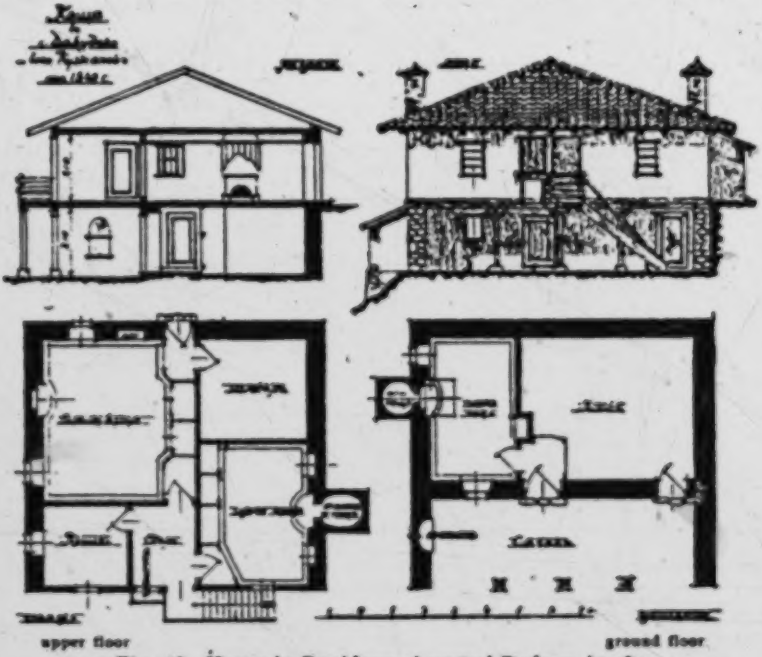

Fig. 48 House in Davidovo of central Rodope, in 1840.
(Zlatev, Bulg. Kasta, fig. 63).

This may also be said generally for the house of the Orvelo (Bulg. Pirin) district, which, owing to the great use of wood, shows some unimportant variations (1).

3. The Troglodyte Houses.

The troglodyte houses (called by the Bulgars «bourdel» from the Roumanian word «bordeiu») are, by origin and construction, entirely different in shape from those already examined above.

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1) See Zlatev, Bălgar. kăsta pp. 81-89.

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But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

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Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

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1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos**, Τί εἶναι οἱ Κωστοβλάχοι, Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali**, Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη. Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

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on the ground floor and on the first floor as well. Some additional spaces are thus formed, giving a large variety of forms to the frontage of the houses (Figg. 58 and 60, Plate XVII 8).

The prostoon, especially in the Moslem houses of the towns of Bosnia, is completely closed at the front on the upper floor because of the way Moslem women live. Thus, a large and wide hall (divanhana) is formed in front of the rooms, with projecting closed balconies, as we have seen them in the houses of Northern Greece and Rodope

Fig. 57 House with an open portico in Novi
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien. fig. 33)

Fig. 58 Moslem house in Mostari with a prostoon open in the middle of the lower floor and over all the left part of the upper one
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 37)

In the more developed forms, the enclosed spaces which are formed at the end of the prostoon extend over the building line and thus give to the vertical aspect of the house the form of a Π.

Such a developed form of Bosnia house can be seen in the Moslem one of Travnik (Fig. 61) whose plans may be seen in Plate XVII, 9. The ground floor of this house consists of two main rooms (S and St) and of one prostoon, one part of which has been separated and formed a kitchen (K). Two more rooms have been built on the front (S-S) on either side of the entrance, thus giving the form of Π to the plan of the house.

The disposition of space is more elaborate on the upper floor. The divanhana is not one of the sides of the house, but in the centre of the floor. This was the reason why Meringer found it difficult to

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Fig. 59 House in the town Travnik
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 72)

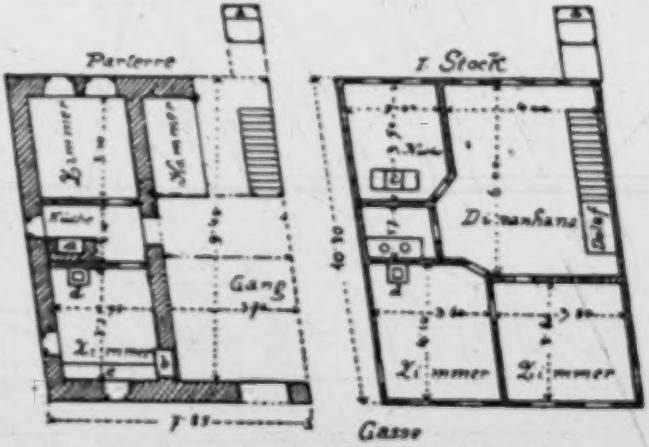

Fig. 60 Plan of the above Moslem house with the prostoon on the upper floor closed on all sides
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 73)

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explain the origin of that type of house. This formation, however, being the last stage in the development of the prostyle wide-fronted house, can be fully understood when one considers the similar forms of Greek houses. We must then suppose that before reaching the above stage, there was a simpler arrangement of space, with the prostoon remaining intact. The increase of space is achieved by the addition of two rooms on the frontage of the house on each side of the staircase,

Fig. 61 Moslem house of Travnik with a covered gate-space leading to the courtyard. See plans of it on Plate XVII Nr. 9
(Moringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 70)

as it can be seen on Plate IV 3e of the Greek house. Later in order to obtain a greater degree of security in the house, the front part of the house was closed by a high wall reaching up till the roof and including the staircase within the building, as it is seen on Plate IV 3 f. Finally, the need to obtain additional spaces, brought about the separation of the two ends of the prostoon and their transformation into rooms.

Thus, a part of the prostoon, remained as an empty space, in the centre of the house, and formed a central room, into which the doors of all the other rooms open and which, owing to its origin, kept the original name of the prostoon, divanhana.

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Thus, the evolution of the Bosnian house from the simpler to the more composite forms, as shown in plate XVII, which we compiled on the basis of plans of houses studied by R. Meringer, does not differ, in its general lines, from that of the Greek houses. That is to say, also the Bosnian house mainly owes its final form to the gradual modification of the prostoon, which extended in front of the rooms, just as with the Greek and the Bulgarian houses.

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Therefore, the remark made by Cvijic years ago, basically retains all its value, namely that the Greco-mediterranean type of house can be seen in Southern Serbia, Albania, Bulgaria and, in general, in all countries that were included in the Byzantine Empire or that had felt the influence of its civilization(1).

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From that point of view, the remarks of the Russian ethnologist S. A. Tokariof are interesting. Tokariof, as we have said, studied four years ago the shapes of the popular houses of the Balkan Slav countries. When describing the Moravian type of house, he says: «The old houses(2) are built mostly of branches and bricks, plastered on both sides with mud. The buildings are one-storied as a rule, but often there are houses with basements, dug into the ground. The floor is of beaten

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1) When **C. Jirecek**, in his book Geschichte der Serben, vol. 2. I. Gotha 1918, p. 74 foll. deals with the Serbian houses of the Middle Ages, he says: «Only the narrow houses inside the royal castles were more solidly built. But, according to Guillaume Adam, the courts of the kings and the nobles were enclosed by fences made of wooden posts. Only in the towns of the ex-Byzantine areas does one see «palaces» such as the one preserved in Melenikon; it is a Buzantine house of nobles with two floors, a large reception room and a square tower. During that period there were stonebuilt houses of many floors with open and closed balconies in the sea side towns of Cattaro, Antivari and Dulcigno. High houses were also to be seen in towns that were of Greek origin. In the villages most of the houses were wooden huts with a roof of straw. In the area of the Karst mountain, one could see stone houses, built without any mortar and of a rectangular shape. The fire place was the centre of the house. In the houses of richer inhabitants, meals were served, as in monasteries, on tables covered with a tablecloth. It spite, however, of this general imitation of the Byzantine ways of life, when Greeks visited the court of king Stephen Ouros (1268) their impression was that it was poor and primitive» (page 81). Cf. **Pr. Krauss**, Slavische Volkforschungen. Leipzig. 1908, p. 4 foll.

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To prove the fact that Greek masons («majstori» and «protomajstori») worked in great numbers at the building of the fine churches, monasteries, palaces and other buildings in Serbia, see **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 71.

2) I copy the text of the translation as it was published in «Μόρφωση» 1946 p. 130 and foll.

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342 We conclude this from the description of J. von Hahn who visited
[171] Albania during the middle of the 19th century. «Albanians», says Hahn, «just like Greeks, seem to prefer the two-storey house. This takes the form of an elongated rectangle, divided into two parts both in the ground and in the upper floor. In the ground-floor one of them is a stable and the other a store-room.

»The two rooms of the upper floor have a long veranda in front of them, supported by wooden poles and opening on the yard. A staircase, covered by an extension of the roof, leads up to the veranda; two doors lead to rooms that do not communicate with each other. The women of the household sit and work in this veranda during almost the whole year.

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[369] »A considerable increase of space is effected at the veranda (as far as I know, only in urban houses) by the fact that the house itself does not comprise two, but three spaces, of which the third, a central one, does not regularly constitute a closed room, for there is no party wall between the two corner rooms and the veranda. The floor of this room is about one foot higher than that of the veranda, and it is used by the family for their meals, when the season of the year permits it. Now, if an increase of space is necessary, part of the veranda is separated and converted into a room, which is sometimes extended on this side of the veranda towards the courtyard; or the veranda is left intact and two corner rooms are built on either side of the staircase; these rooms are also facing the courtyard, so that the veranda takes now the shape of a cross.

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[171] »This is the form which is taken as a besis in the final shape of the Turkish house(1), because even in the case when this or that or all the sections of the crossform building were converted into rooms, some indications in the consistence of the walls, the cornice and the

1) **J. von Hahn** abuses here the word «Turkish» when he means the completed form of house which has developed after a long process of evolution during the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine years in Greek countries. The truth is that the Turks adopted the closed form of house, which opens into an internal courtyard, because of the secluded life their women live. The covered verandas and open rooms of Byzantine houses were especially pleasant to them, as they had a comfortable and protected view. The presence of this architectural element in the popular urban architecture of Greece, as remarks Prof.
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● [342] **A. Keramopoullos,** Αἱ ἀνέῳγματα τῶν οἰκιῶν in rev. Archimidis 21 (1930) 61. is continuously witnessed from the 6th century B.C. up to this day. Turks have never been known as good house builders. Comp. **Gl. Markopoulos:** Ἡ λαϊκή μας ἀρχιτεκτονική, Athens 1945 p. 94.

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decorations allow us to discern that these rooms were(1) separated later on. When he was considering Hahn's descriptions, that prove of a most acute observation power this investigator of Greek and Albanian folklore was endowed with, Nopcsa already found some elements that bring the house of Middle Albania near that of Kastrati described above (p. 71), in what the development of the prostoon is concerned. Judging from the plans of houses in Dyrrachion and Rethi given by the Italian G. Rosati(2) in his survey, Nopcsa arrives at the conclusion that «the shape of such a house constitutes the regular type in Middle Albania»(3). If seen more closely, the shapes of houses taken as a basis by Hahn show, however, a much more advanced stage of development than that of the best houses of Northern Albania; and the plans of these houses, I have drawn on Plate XVIII No. 16-19, are basically the same as the types of Greek house on Plates V 5^{b} and IV 3^{b-d}. It must also be noted that the completed shape of the Bosnian house (see above p. 91, Plate XVII 9) entirely corresponds to the type of house characterised by Hahn as Turkish (Plate XVIII 19).

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When examining the expansion of the prostyle wide-fronted house, Nopcsa finds that this house may be spread all over the Balkan peninsula, from the Peloponese to the area North of Skopje, but thinks that houses with a veranda are much more numerous in the Italian peninsula than in the Balkan(4). This is perhaps the reason why he accepts the opinion of Haberlandt, who recognises a «Roman and an Italian medieval element» in Albanian housing architecture.

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As I have not been able to see the survey of A. Haberlandt,

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1) **J. von Hahn,** Albanesische Studien. Jena 1853 pp. 73 and 169 and foll.

2) I could not find the survey of Rosati, Condizioni agronomiche dell' Albania, 1915.

3) **Nopcsa,** op. cit. p. 46.

4) According to **Fr. Oelmann,** Haus und Hof im Altertum, p. 71, the portico which extends along the side of the rain-water drain (Längslaube) is the natural prolongation of the eagle-type wide-fronted house, especially if this house still comprises a single room, or if this room has been sub divided only internally. This may be seen in High Germany, High Italy, especially with Yugoslavs (Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria), and Rumanians, as well as with the inhabitans of New Caucasus (The Tcherkg); more rarely with the Tcechs and the Poles, and not at all in Russia and Northern Germany. But while Oelmann mentions Southern Soudan, Beast Africa, India and even China, he never mentions Greece, and completely ignores everything connected with modern Greek architecture.

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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

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It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ισνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10 20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». ('Ο Φάρος τῆς Βορ. 'Ελλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

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as well as in Macedonian lowlands; it was also found in a lesser degree in other parts of the Turkish empire, probably as remains of Byzantine and even older years. On the other hand, it is well known that in Middle Age, « many houses were provided with towers and castles whence, in case of need, the rich were defending themselves against the attacking and exasperated populace » (1). Square towers, sometimes four floors high and attached to the parallelopiped of palaces and richer houses of Mystras are still to be seen in ruins. These date from the second half of 13th-15th centuries and have been described in detail by Professor Orlandos. (2).

Many such towers are still preserved in Thessaly, and I have described some of them, two in Aghiá and one in Agrafa, in my book about the Thessalian houses (3). Some types of older towers at Damassi in Thessaly are known to us from a sketch and a description by the French author L. Heuzey (4). These towers are also the work of the same Epirot and Macedonian builders.

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A mere comparison between the Greek towers and those of Middle, South as well as North Albania, as described by Hahn, Ekrem and Nopcsa, will show that their architecture is identical. These towers are square, they have three or four floors, each of them including but one space; an internal wooden ladder connects these floors aud is used for the ascension from one to another. In some cases, a wooden fence divides the space of the ground floor into two parts only, the kitchen and the women's room. The system of an entrance through a draw-bridge, which connects the door of the second floor to a stone staircase built at a certain distance from the main tower, as

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1) **An. Orlandos,** Τὰ παλάτια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ (p. 19, 54, etc).

2) **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 82-85 Plate 1B

3) **L. Heuzey,** Excursions dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858, Paris 1921 p. 36 see translation of the relative paragraph in **G. Megas** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 84 Plate 36, where also photograph of old tower at upper Volos. Comp. the tower of Markellos on Aegina (**Lygizos,** Ἑλλ. νησιωτ. Ἀρχιτεκτ. p. 27) and the tower of Mytelene (**K. Maleas,** Εἰκόνες λαϊκ. Ἀρχιτεκτ. p. 24). I have seen similar old towers in Messaria and Staries on the island of Andros; same also exist on Naxos.

4) According to **Nopcsa** (p. 27 and 237) only one (!) fountain with a massive vault in Midritia is of modern Greek origin. Some other elements of the material life of Albania as well as the rest of Balkan originate, according to Nopcsa (p. 233), in the civilisation area of Constantinople and, «they are, therefore, of a Turkish and Byzantine origin having obviously reached Albania comparatively late».

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described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania.

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1).

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2).

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐπετ. Βυζ. Σπ. 1885. See also **D. Loukopoulos** Αἱ πάλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof, (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with mud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

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THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

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I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

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The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

594 855 [264] [527]

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

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The Macedonians

I.

000 1. Konak in Alaklissa. 2. Shepherd's hut of loam and straw in the Campania, the lowlands north of Salonika. 3. Fortress-like warehouse in Palalitza. 4. Peasant woman at a weaving loom in Skoplje. 5. Farmyard near Skoplje. 6. Bagpipes. 7. Baking bell. 8. Magical charm. 9. and 10. Votive offerings. 11. Cotton cleaner (batter's bow). 12. Riding donkey. 13. Pottery oven near Skoplje. 14. Armchair. 15. Plowing farmer. 16. Brand iron used for branding sheep. 17. Incense pot. 18. Earthenware cover for the coal basin, used for keeping the heat in; on top of it is placed the pot or coffee jug.[1]

(Numbers 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 are in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Hamburg. Numbers 13, 16, and 17 in the Ethnographisches Museum at Dresden. Numbers 4, 5, 12, 13, and 16 are photographs taken by Generaloberarzt /Chief surgeon-general/ Dr. Hansen in Lübeck.

101 144 In the lowlands between Albania, old Bulgaria, and Greece, that is, in Macedonia, and incessant movement of peaceable and war-like peoples has produced the racial mixture of present-day Macedonia, in which the Indo-Germanic Thracians constitute the basic stock. To this were added, in antiquity, Romans, in the middle ages Slavs and Bulgarians, Turks and their Turkomanic or Near Eastern camp-followers; and, finally, Rumanians, Greeks, and the tribally related Albanians. The level tracts of land along the coast and the swampy lowlands are maintained by a nomadic type of livestockbreeding; 231 241 the fertile fringe areas provide ample yields from the grain agriculture which cultivates primarily wheat and maize, but they are also receptive 342 to southerly cultures such as rice, opium, and cotton. The herders build for themselves hasty round huts of loam and straw; the field guards who here, as in all the other parts of the Balkans, watch over the cultivated fields all through the summer, construct frame-works shaped like beehives or pointed cones out of intertwined twigs and thick bundles of straw. Simple farmsteads also have a thatched roof on walls of tiles and loam; a combination of wood, loam, and tiles leads to two-storied panel-work structures (Figure 2) which contain, in the ground floor,

[1] [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 73a -- Analyst]

342 stables and storage rooms, and in the upper story the living quarters with a verandah, a balcony, and a sink; over them is a flat roof of tiles. The Albanian form of the square fortified tower is to be seen on larger warehouses (Figure 3). The interior displays the customary simple furnishing of the Balkan dwelling; the semicircular chair in Figure 14 is reminiscent of the Albanian styles, while its horn-shaped supports remind one of Turkish influence. The weaving loom and the hatter's bow (Figure 11) that is used for the cleaning of wool and of cotton, have probably come to this country from the Orient, even though the hatter's bow is ancient European (compare the Plate, Estonians II). The baking bell shown in Figure 7, the bagpipes shown in Figure 6, the incense vessel shown in Figure 17, the wooden plow, shown in Figure 15, which is drawn by the team of oxen that are driven on by a goad (not a whip) and which are harnessed with a neck yoke--all these are universally characteristic of the Balkans. The riding donkey shown in Figure 12, on the other hand, points to the Orient. Figures 8 to 9 are illustrations of protective charms--the horse's skull is reminiscent of Kirghiz customs, compare volume 1 of this atlas, Plate, Kirghiz I, Figure 13, that are based upon the knowledge of spiritual forces which are everywhere alive, which are effective in everything that is and has being, and can be utilized for magical purposes, both in a good as well as in a bad sense.

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/105: Illustrations/

/106/ The Macedonians

II.

000 1. Men and women from western Macedonia. 2. Woman from

[See also Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 73a --Analyst]